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Selections.

THE CLEVELAND AND BALTIMORE PLATFORMS.

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS

To the Editor of The Independent:

You refer to me in your notice, last week, of the Cleveland Convention, and seem to think I should wish, if fully informed, to change my views. I believe I am fully informed in regard to it at least your article suggests nothing new to me—and I have no wish to withdraw from it. I infinitely prefer its platform to that adopted at Baltimore, and have the conviction of your preferring Baltimore nothing half a loaf to Cleveland asking a whole loaf. That is the precise value from your pen of the slurring epithet you bestow on Cleveland, "unrepresentative." I consider it a fair, and, relatively, generous term. But how long have you thought that legislatures, custom-houses, ward-rooms, and mess-tables so entirely monopolize the saints of the nation that a *regular* convention can be formed in comparison? Better representa nobody than represent rebels. Allow me to remind you how largely the Baltimore Convention was a mob, coming nobody knew whence, responsible to none, and only pretending to represent rebels and States not even in rebellion; though even it had crowd of representatives without constituents no place could be found for Robert Small and his fellow-heroes of Carolina.

No wonder such a body, *unlike Cleveland*, was willing to press the Confiscation law on a President who once wished to veto it, and has never put it into efficient execution. No wonder, speculators and contractors, and those who live by the misfortunes of Mr. Lincoln his usurped power of Reconstruction—the most difficult and most momentous question before us—which Cleveland so properly refuses to confide to any but Congress and the people.

The Baltimore platform has but one article of any meaning or value, that relating to a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery. That article would never, to my opinion, have been inserted, but for the pressure of the anti-slavery feeling which found in the Cleveland Convention. The plan of amending the Constitution was never suggested by the Administration, nor by Congress, nor by any prominent Republican press. It was the work of a few men, and since been patiently pressed, on public attention by those who originated the Cleveland movement. From them Congress borrowed the idea, and to their labor is due the success it has obtained. Further, with all the pressure I have named, Baltimore has not dared to rise to the level of Cleveland, which not only demands such an Amendment, but a further one, "*to secure to all men absolute equality before the law.*" To me this is the vital germ of the whole movement. It is the possible salvation for the Union, and no safety for the negro in his freedom, except on the basis of every man of every race equal in privilege, right, and franchise before the law. This idea, again, owes its birth to the Cleveland movement, and is, as yet, the high-water mark of American politics. Neither the Administration, nor Congress, nor any Republican press or platform has ventured to claim it. Republican men say of it, as they have said of many abolitionists, the Cleveland men announce it, marking an epoch in our nation's progress. I am glad and proud to be identified with such a movement, and history will ever guard the fact that the Cleveland Convention was the first political body of Americans to make that claim, and to plant itself fairly on the Declaration of Independence, in which they are, at once, consistent, statesmanlike, and just. The next generation will see and acknowledge that the men who demanded that step knew their times better and served them more efficiently than the author of the Emancipation proclamation of January, 1863.

The next article of Cleveland platform protested against the fast growing despotism of an Admioistration which never shows vigor except against single individuals and in the quiet streets of New York and Boston, but is timid and powerless in the presence of Richmond and New Orleans. If, in the profound peace of New York and entirely without necessity, the President usurps all the power of Congress and the Judiciary —as in the Arguelles case—or wholly suppresses the habeas corpus, by his "Fort Lafayette" order to command an army without the shadow of a commission, it is time to ask where we are. If these things are done in the green tree, what may we not expect in the dry? Since May, 1861, I have not known a case that failed to point out the dangerous tendency of this use of despotic power. Its necessary use is alarming; the moment it outgoes the strict limits of that necessity, it should arouse the most vigilant attention and rebuke.

The only other article of the Baltimore platform in which the influence of Cleveland can be traced is that meaningless and hypocritical one supposed to relate to a change in the Cabinet; an attempt, by the way thing and not have appeared since. It was an attempt, the first half of which was alone successful. The Baltimore men knew then and know now that Mr. Lincoln neither plans, nor will consent, to change his Cabinet unless it is forced upon him by a pressure outside his party and so strong as to make it tremble.

Two or three clap-trap compliments, one-half of which, *you know well*, were neither deserved nor sincerely offered, one honorable protest against the government's infamous injustice to its colored soldiers, and one brave demand (the Amendment) borrowed from its rival—this is the Baltimore platform. Congratulations regarded, the control of Reconstruction claimed for Congress and the people, the Confiscation Act unbinked, and a Constitutional Amendment demanded to prohibit slavery and give to all men the vote—these are the merits of the Cleveland movement; its success, so far, has been unmixed and most marked and beneficial.

You dread a union between Cleveland and the Democrats. I should welcome it. The only question is the time of such union. I am not myself a voter, and could neither give nor take office under the present Constitution. But any Democrat who will join me in securing a union without a slave, and with every man a voter, equal before the law, I shall be glad to work with. If Cleveland imitates the Republican party, and to win office deserts its principles, then I shall desert Cleveland. But as the party now in power has betrayed us and left us only one chance in three of saving the Union, I am disposed to try any other which gives us cohesion to right principles.

In ordinary times, politics is of little interest to me. But the nation hangs on the edge of Niagara. I have some hope, though but little expectation, that it will be saved under its present leaders. Duty bids me make every effort to insure its safety. Hence, I joined the Cleveland Convention, as a protest against the calamity of Mr. Lincoln's reelection. I still trust that it may be made effectual to prevent that disaster. I hope the sound portion of the Democratic party—lovers of their country—will accept an anti-slavery basis of action and join us. To achieve such a union I am present effort. I gave the Republican administration generous confidence for three years. Compromising, purposeless, halting, cowardly, they have disgusted their own supporters and well nigh wrecked the nation. That way ruin lies. I am anxious, at least, to try another. Watchful in the past against deceit, I shall exercise the same jealousy in future, and when the Cleveland movement commits itself to rebuke and desert it. At present, its existence is almost my only hope of anything good being built on the ruins of Baltimore.

All government in this country is an average made up between the purpose of the majority and that of the minority, whose strength the majority fears. Even if unsuccessful at the ballot-box, Cleveland will subdue this Administration into loyal efficiency, as it has already lifted the Baltimore platform into decency.

It is too early to form any opinion of the result of the coming canvass. Grant carries the decision of it on the point of his sword. If we of Cleveland fail, I shall not be surprised. Perfectly well aware that compromise is the essence of politics and indispensably necessary to success at the ballot-box, I should be more surprised to succeed. Indeed, the hour of such success would be full on me when I should most anxiously reëxamine my own position. Let me commend to you the same caution.

Unless, however, some union takes place among the opponents of the Administration, I have little expectation that the political friends will adopt Grant, on a basis worse than defeat. If the North does triumph, I shall always look back to the Cleveland Convention as one of the most efficient contributions to that success.

Last, as to the nominees of the Cleveland Convention: I have confidence in the anti-slavery purpose of John C. Fremont; and I wait to see the policy which he and his political friends will adopt for the accomplishment of that purpose. As events unfold, I shall find my guidance in them, and shall take fit opportunity to express my opinion. I know the nature of politicians, but little to be trusted. Whether we shall be able to trust the Democratic party in this crisis, is yet uncertain; that we cannot trust the voluntary action of the Republican party is proved.

My motto is "the Country" and I welcome any man's help who will help me. Whether Cleveland or I shall welcome its aid. If any of us quit Cleveland and go to Chicago, I shall not follow.

Yours, respectfully, Wendell Phillips.

June, 1864.

THE EDITOR'S REPLY.

In appending to the letter of Mr. Phillips the criticisms which a sense of duty compels us to make, we desire to say in advance, that no man in the land is entitled to a more respectful hearing for whatever he utters than himself. Few men have more purely and heroically, more eloquently served the noblest cause known to American history. His knowledge of public measures is uncommon, his judgments is not lightly and hastily formed, and his love of country is profound. But we think he is wrong in his present position, and respectfully call his attention to the following points.

I. Mr. Phillips objects to our styling the Cleveland convention "unrepresentative." We repeat the word. The delegates of whom were without credentials, and all without constituencies—numbered only 156: not half filling the hall: a handful of rabbits in a barn. One of the best known delegates said to a friend of ours, "We have come to organize the political convention he had not even known." We refer to the treaty-breaking Democratic party! How long will he hold it? Will he who criticizes the little virtue of Republicans find greater in Democrats? "I know the nature of politicians," says Mr. Phillips, "and therefore I say that it does not know the nature of Democratic politicians, or he thinks he can trust into their hands the cause of the slave! As George Canning said in Parliament of the proposal to put the care of education for the negro into the hands of the old supporters of slavery," While human nature remains the same, they can never be trusted with it!" If Mr. Phillips seeks any political alliance, his proper place is with the party which for eight years has stood by the negro and the Union, and its enemy that stood then and stands yet for slavery!

To our remark of last week that he knew only half the intent of the Cleveland movement, and that if he knew the other half he would erase his signature, he replies that we told him nothing new. We propose now to tell him something new. One of his best friends in this city—a noble and unspotted lawyer—addressed to us a few days ago these words: "The utmost meaning of the Cleveland call was held in the same grog-shop out of which, last Summer, issued the rioters who set fire to my house; the audiences are the same persons; and the speakers are well-known Copperheads." Is Mr. Phillips willing to be identified with this gang? At the great Fremont ratification meeting at Cooper Institute, on Monday night, where Mr. Phillips was advertised to speak (and where consequently we were present), the cheers for McClellan nations were boisterous cheers for McClellan! Would Mr. Phillips, had he been present, been pleased with the sound? Dr. Brownson, one of the speakers, said that for President he would prefer "Hannibal Hamlin, Democrat," and then turned round to Mr. Lincoln! Will Mr. Phillips say amen? Mr. Claiborne, of Missouri, another speaker—one of the delegates to Chicago!—said, "Give us a man who is not notorious for his love of the negro, and we have a bridge on which they can come back!" Will Mr. Phillips walk that road to a compromise? John Cochrane, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, speaking at the same meeting, alluded with pleasure to the equal cheers for Fremont and McClellan, and said that these men were "twin cherries on one stalk"! Is Mr. Phillips content to hang in their company? A third of the speakers, Mr. Bryce, at the first meeting, Mr. Bryce, a speaker, said, "I take occasion to pay a deserved tribute to George B. McClellan (cheers). I like to hear you cheer for him. If Fremont is elected, he will find McClellan ready to help Fremont from the top school. Cheer for McClellan; it is your privilege; cheer for any man except the imbecile who now fills the Presidential chair" (tremendous groans for Lincoln). Mr. Phillips has repeatedly said that, if we would only cease to "committed folly, he would rebuke and desert it." Was not Monday night folly enough?

We were told, at the meeting, by a sagacious man who knew its secrets, that the Democratic leaders were using the Cleveland movement simply as a sharpedged tool for wounding the Union party. We were told the same thing the next day by a Copperhead journalist. As to ourselves, we knew this before we were told. But Mr. Phillips refuses to know it after being told.

X. Mr. Phillips leans on a broken reed—the high anti-slavery purpose of the Cleveland movement. He cites the "germ of the whole movement," "the equality before the law." But what is absolute equality before the law so long as slavery exists? It is an equality for freemen, not for slaves—the old limited equality which before existed, nothing more. Look at the million dollars in slave-State Union bonds: the Cleveland platform cloaks this fact with a pretense that slavery is dead, and then asks for equality before the law: that is to say, *taking care to omit the only question which slavery forces upon us, Pulling demands equality, it bravely asks for an equality which heretofore has existed!* Now, we would be glad it a great political party could go before the country on the high issue of giving every black man a vote, and every man in the country the right to vote. On the 4th of July, 1861, at Framingham, Mass., Mr. Phillips, in speaking of the clamors which the government then began to hear concerning a policy of Emancipation, said: "I will not consent to any such proposition now. So, too, if the next election were to turn upon the question of giving every black man a vote, the Copperheads would achieve the next Administration. If the country were ready for such an issue, the Baltimore Convention would have made it. *The Cleveland Convention has not made it, and its managers will not make it.* Any man who knows the meaning of the Cleveland movement laughs at the idea that Fremont was elected by the votes of the Democracy for the sake of the negro's right to vote. Neither of these men, in their letters of acceptance, said a word about the rights of the negro—not even a word of sympathy for the slave.

In May, at the Cleveland Convention meeting, not a word was said in the resolutions concerning the rights of the negro. The only man who made any approach to an anti-slavery utterance was Dr. Brownson—the man of whom Mr. Phillips, a few weeks before, said, "I was sitting on the same spot of ragged red-carpet, said," Mr. Brownson does me the honor to say that I am MAD upon the rights of the negro!" Mr. Clairborne said, "There was something in the platform harder for him to swallow than a slavery-abolitionist." Can Mr. Phillips guess what that was? It was the "chief gem of the crown." Nine-tenths of that double multitude, both inside and outside the house, would have bartered away the whole Cleveland platform for a sharp-spoiled mess. John Cochrane, who did not once so far forget himself as to name the negro, was complimented at the close of his speech by Mr. Phillips's old friend, Capt. Isaiah Rynders, of the Empire Club! Mr. Phillips had been present, as announced, and had held up "the chief gem of the crown" to glitter in the gaslights, there were men on both sides the wall who, for the insult of ranking the negro up to the same equality with themselves we will have been ready to cut each other's throats, the flesh from his bones. "I can hardly conceive," writes Mr. Phillips, "of your preferring Baltimore, asking half a loaf, to Cleveland, asking a whole loaf." We prefer the half-loaf of Baltimore, because it has in it a portion of the whole loaf of Cleveland, because it is a stone.

XI. We know the keynote of Mr. Phillips's complainings. It is dissatisfaction with the Administration, in this feeling he does not stand alone. The Baltimore resolutions, upholding the Administration, was unmerited. But we shall not join the Copperheads in a coalition to make bad worse. If a Republican Administration has proved unworthy, a Democratic will prove more unworthy; and we fear the exchange. If the great Union party represented at Baltimore had chosen some other candidate, we would have had no regrets. If, before November, some strange change in events should put Sumner's name at the head of this great party, we would cheerfully acquiesce. But so long as the case stands as it now stands—the field occupied by one great party whose aim is Liberty and Union, and whose enemies are a motley multitude of every name of opinion, gathered from grog-shops and stained with riots, banding themselves anew to wrong their country, whose ranks are unduly dignified and honored by the presence of a few pure and noble souls for whom the rest are unworthy—we shall make straight paths for our feet, and follow with heart and soul after the banner of Abraham Lincoln! We think Mr. Phillips's duty to do the same. Are we not right?

In concluding these criticisms, let us add that we have written them with an unwilling hand. A controversy with a friend is the water of Marah to one's own lips. But a man may not shrink from duty more than Mr. Phillips, so we believe no man more kindly accepts it. If any word of ours has wrongly stated his position, he knows that no pen is more welcome in these columns than his own.

THE RIGHT OF REFUGE.

From The Tribune:

The delivery of Arguelles to the Spanish Government, as a fugitive from justice, has awakened a deep interest and elicited much discussion. All the journals of this country which have expressed their opinion on the subject, have either condemned the act of extradition as without warrant of law, or pronounced it embracing their object existing between Spain and ourselves—or they have applauded the act of extradition as necessary for its chartists motive, and as justified by the influence which it is stated to have had in aiding the liberation of a number of Africans from servitude. Waiving now any consideration of this view of the subject, we propose to examine briefly the question, What is, or ought to be, the principles of law upon which rests the supersitructure of the custom and usages of nations concerning the right of refuge. The present is a suitable time for such examination into the sources of this right, and the relative duty of extradition.

In the free intercourse encouraged in modern times between nations, it is easy for one who has done a wrong deed to betake himself from the place where the crime was committed, and voluntarily put himself in another country, and there claim the right of a supplliant for refuge. Does this right belong to him whose condition is the result of his guilt, not of his misfortune? Ought he to be free from the unwelcome offender, coming within the pale "of the laws of this country," is received by them as an innocent man, and they have authorized no one to seize or deliver him? Is it not manifest that this right of refuge involves, also, protection to the fugitive, of whom is soared upon by him only who is free of premeditated guilt; that the right to deliver up a criminal is inherent in every independent nation, though no treaty long on the subject, have either condemned the act of extradition as without warrant of law, or pronounced it embracing their object existing between Spain and ourselves—or they have applauded the act of extradition as necessary for its chartists motive, and as justified by the influence which it is stated to have had in aiding the liberation of a nnmber of Africans from servitude. Waiving now any consideration of this view of the subject, we propose to examine briefly the question, What is, or ought to be, the principles of law upon which rests the supersitructure of the custom and usages of nations concerning the right of refuge. The present is a suitable time for such examination into the sources of this right, and the relative duty of extradition.

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can citizens, to sacrifice all men for the sake of the cause and unite upon some man to whom we can elect President of the United States [“That’s right,” cheers]. Now let us see who has the best chance at present. (Loud cries—“McClellan,” “Fremont,” “McClellan.” “Fremont,” each party trying to drown the cries of the other.) Is there in this crowd any Democrat or Radical Democrat who does not want to defeat Lincoln at all hazards? (“No, there aint.”) Now suppose a case. Suppose that at Chicago, on the 29th of next August, two months before the next Presidential election, the War Democracy should nominate George B. McClellan, and suppose he could not get the Peace vote, and ie beaten by nine hundred thousand votes (“No, no,” “Don’t believe it”), how would you find them? Suppose Fremont can start in his race with eight or nine hundred thousand votes taken from Mr. Lincoln’s party. If we unite on him we will be President of the United States (cheers). In this large Democratic city in New York that would not rather see John C. Fremont President than Lincoln? (“No, no.” “He loves the nigger too well.” Cheers.) Do you prefer Lincoln to Fremont? If you do, you are not the intelligent gentleman I expected to find you (laughter). But if it could be demonstrated that Fremont, with a start of eight hundred thousand votes, could not be elected, and we elect some other man, say Mr. Gray, in Gray’s name, let us elect him in preference to Lincoln (cheers). Fellow-citizens, each and every one of you, I suppose, want freedom of speech, do you not? (“I bet you!”) You do not want to see the habeas corpus properly, or laws jeoparded unless in obedience to the Constitution and laws of your country, do you? (“No, no.”) You want a free press, do you not? (“Yes.”) Then the right and honest Democratic platform declares in favor of free speech, a free press, the *habeas corpus*, the Conetitution and the reconstruction of the Union (applause). Give us a change of Administration. [A voice—“Where’s your candidate?] Hurl from power the man whose election has brought upon the nation countless woes, and the Union may be reconstructed in harmony and peace. It is our stern and solemn duty to rally we own dead, the living, to the dead, and to those who are to come after us, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitutin, if need be with our lives. That Constitution has been perverted and trampled upon by the men who swore that to it they would truly support and administer it (cheers for McClellan and Fremont). The next time I speak I will make three speeches—one to each party, except Lincoln’s party; there is no use of talking to them, for they are a hnught up (“That’s so”). The War Democrats are honest; the Fremonters are honest; the Peace men are honest in their convictins; but the Lincoln party is held together by the cohesive power of public plnnder (cheers. A Voice—“Fremont is the man).”

In St. Louis, the great city of the Missisippi valley, on Satnrday night last, thirty thousand freemen rallied to the Fremont ratification meeting. Liberal Democrats and Radical Democrats will arm in arm, against an imbecile and corrupt Administration, and when the contest narrows down, I care not who may be the Opposition candidate, every patriot will cast his vote against Abraham Lincoln.

[Mr. S. Wolf, of Washington, a member of the Fremont Committee, also made a speech, ending as follows:]

Call ns Copperheads, soreheads, nr what you will, it does not matter (“No, no”). The American people are not so easily startled by names. They look for eternal truths, for those invaluable principles which underlie all republican governments, and with such glorious leaders, whose sympathy, earnestness, and truth are proverbial, there can be no such word as fail (cheers). Rebellion crushed—our flag once more waving in its ancient lustre, Fremont, the pathfinder nf radicalism, elected, we will, as in the days of yore, have an American army heroic as in the past, glorious as in the present, while the decline and fall of Austria and France shall be removed from the soil of Mexico, and the leader of that army shall be the patriot, warrior, and Christian, New Yrk’s favorite son, Gen. George B. McClellan (loud cheers).

[Edward Gilbert, of Washington, Democrat, followed in a speech which the Copperhead *World* calls “eloquent and pertinent”; and then “the meeting,” says the same paper, “adjourned amid cheers for Fremont and McClellan”—the “twin cheriries on one stam!”]

DEATH OF JOSIAH QUINCY, SR.

From The Evening Post, July 5.

The venerable Josiah Quincy died on Saturday at his country seat in the neighborhood of Boston, in the ninety-third year of his age. Few men have lived so long; few have lived so worthily. Below will be found a sketch of the principal events of his life, a very considerable part of which was spent in the public service, performing the various duties of the different posts to which he was called for the most part by popular election with extraordinary ability and the most perfect integrity and singleness of purpose. His father at his death, in leaving to him the works of Sidney, Locke, and Bacon, implored of heaven that the spirit of liberty might rest upon his son. The prayer was answered.

It is fortunate for a republic that it can number such men among its citizens. It is doubly fortunate when the lives of those who have set their countrymen so high and noble an example are prolonged, amid universal respect, beyond the period usually allotted to human life, so that one generation after another may have before its eyes an example of the honor and veneration which form one of the rewards of public virtue.

Mr. Quincy was born at several years before the American revolution, and his personal recollections connected the first war of our independence, in which he threw off the yoke of Great Britain, with the second in which we are now engaged, emancipating ourselves from the dominion of the slaveholders. We had for our party reverses in the field that the most benighened to the time when this great rebellion would be subdued, the power of slavery broken forever, and that liberty to which he was consecrated in his infancy made the heritage of every human being in every State of the Union. He lived, however, to see the near approach of that time, and left the world in the confidant expectation of its speedy advent.

Josiah Quincy, Sen., died on Saturday at his country seat in Quincy, at the very advanced age of ninety-two. Mr. Quincy long occupied a prominent political position, held many places of trust, and although he had in later years withdrawn from public life, continued to cherish an active interest in State and National affairs. By profession, he was a lawyer, and practised for more than fifty years ago; was successively State Senator in Massachusetts, Representative in Congress, a member of the lower house of the Massachusetts Legislature, Judge of the Municipal Court in Boston, Mayor of the city, and President of Harvard University; and found time, besides, to add valuable contributions to our historical literature.

Mr. Quincy was born at Boston, February 4, 1772. The place of his birth is now known as No. 166 Washington street. It formerly bore the name of Marlborn’. The parental Quincy, it is said, was the first lawyer in Boston who ventured to indicate the nature of his profession by putting up a sign-board over his door; and it is further related in the family records that many of the connections of the Quincys suffered dispersal during the progress of the siege of Boston by the British. Josiah was the fourth child, and was but died in 1775, when he was three years old. His father died in the same year, and Mrs. Quincy, a widow, with a young child, sought the protection of her parents in the town of Norwich, Connecticut. The father had died at sea, while on his return from a visit to London for his health, but left a will containing this injunction: “I give to my son when he shall arrive to the age of fourteen years, Algernon Sidney’s works, John Locke’s works, Lord Bacon’s works, Gordon’s Tacitus, and Cato’s Letters. May the spirit of liberty rest upon him!”

The young Quincy was prepared for college at Phillips’s Academy, in Andover, Mass., was entered at Harvard, and graduated therefrom in 1790 at the head of his class. On Commencement day he gave an English oration on the “ideal superiority of the present age in literature and politics.” After leaving college he took up the study of the law, was admitted early, and in the Summer of 1797 married a daughter of Mr. John Morton, a New York banker. In 1796 Mr. Quincy became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was afterwards its treasurer, holding that office from 1803 to 1820. From 1820 to 1830 he was President of the Boston Athenæum, a history of which institution was subsequently prepared by him and published.

Mr. Quincy was in public life for many years. In 1804 he was elected to the Massachusetts Senate, and in 1805 was chosen as a Representative in Congress from Suffolk County. He held his seat, by reelection, until 1813, and participated in the discussion of the events of the last war, the embargo, and commercial restrictions. The embargo was Mr. Quincy’s especial abhorrence. In a speech on the necessity of repealing the law, delivered in the midst of the height of the excitement, he declared that “Massachusetts abhorred the monster”; that “an embargo upon liberty was never cradled” in that State; that “the free as air—she could swim or she could run—the ocean was her cradle.” Mr. Quincy went still further indeed, was never chary of expressing his sentiments, and rather courted than shunned opposition. The opposition delivered before the Washington Benevolent Society in April, 1813, he took occasion not only to denounce the war with Great Britain, but to impugn the motives of the national rulers. “It is time,” he said, “that the eyes of a nation became the mere heads of a party, the last and least consideration with them is the good of the people.” At times Mr. Quincy was passionate in his denunciations. On one occasion, during the war debates, he denounced the Democratic members as “young politicians, with the pin-feathers yet unsehed, and the shell still sticking to them,” as “a wing sycophants,” and as “reptiles who crawled at the feet of the President.” His speeches indicate the spirit of the times, and are curious specimens of the acrimonious warfare by Mr. Quincy on the Administration of Madison, the influence of power and patronage, were concerned in a different vein, and drew from John Quincy Adams the high encomium that “it ought to be hung up in every office of every officeholder in the Union.” His minority address in Congress is famous.

Retiring from Congress, Mr. Quincy was again elected to the State Senate in Massachusetts, and while a member of that body made himself conspicuous by his resolution on the capture of the Peacock by the Hornet, under Captain Lawrence. The preamble traced the bad conduct of the officers of the Hornet, but the resolution which followed declared that “the war was waged without just cause,” and that “it is the duty of moral and religious people to express approbation of it. In 1815 the anti-war party, among whom Mr. Quincy continued to be prominent, proposed the organization of the Massachusetts Peace Society.

Mr. Quincy was one of the earliest members of that body, and in 1820 followed Mr. Webster into the U. S. Senate from the State Senate, and was then elected to the lower house for two successive terms, at the last of which he was chosen Speaker. In 1829 he was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts; in 1822 was appointed Judge of the Municipal Court of Boston, and soon after was elected Mayor of that city. As Mayor he showed an active personal interest in the establishment of the House of Industry, the Juvenile House of Reformation, street improvements, and the City Market—which was the founder of the Boston Fire Department, which dates from 1827. In January, 1829, having held the office of Mayor for several years, Mr. Quincy was elected President of Harvard. Dr. Kirkland in the presidency of Harvard College. His inauguration took place on the 2d of June, 1829. He held this office for sixteen years, and during the performance of his various literary labors to prepare an extended history of Harvard, which was published in two volumes in 1840. A considerable share of the work, covering the period from 1636) and prepared orations and eldresses for various occasions. Mr. Quincy led an active and leborious life, and has left numerous volumes of publications. His son, Josiah Quincy, Jr., is a distinguished lawyer in Boston, and was formerly Mayor of that city.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT.—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1864.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

The Abolitionists have had the custom for many years, under the auspices and by the recommendation of the American A. S. Society and its auxiliaries, of celebrating the Nation’s Birth-day at separate and specific meetings of their own. In the state of the country previous to the war and for the first years of its continuance, and in the state of public sentiment as to slavery then, they did not feel it becoming their principles or befitting their position to unite in the noisy services nausily held in honor of that great Anniversary. Fully sensible, however, of its sublime prophecy, as well as of its glorious history impressed on the pages of the annals of both continents, and deeming the day to be one peculiarly belonging to themselves, as the just representatives of the Signers of the Declaration charged with the duty of making it a living reality instead of a string of “glittering generalities,” they held that they, of all men, were entitled to the recollections and anticipations belonging to its annual recurrence. They, therefore, assembled themselves together under the shade nf groves and by the side of still waters to bear their testimony against the blaokslidings of their generation, and to nttter their predictions of the better day to come. The aspect of affairs from their point of view did not look fair enough for the first years of the struggle which had grown out of the devotees of slavery, to make them think it wise to discontinue their annual custom. This year, however, the American and Massachusetts Societies have been of the opinion that the condition and prospects of affairs, and the state of public sentiment as to slavery was so far changed for the better, that the separate celebrations might be profitably abandoned and all unite in whatever services in honor of the day that were instituted by the authorities of their nwn or of neighboring towns. They have ever longed for the day to ocme when they might issue forth from their isolation and join themselves to the general company of their fellow-citizens. That day seems now to have arrive1. We hope, with trembling, that it may continue to the end without interruption.

It was obviously impossible for men regarding slavery as the abomination in the camp of our Israel, which was drawing down upon it the Divine vengeance, and which was sure to work its ruin if not put away from it, to join in the idolatrous worship offered to the accursed thing as our protecting deity, of which the Fourth of July used to be the festival. During the reign of the slave-breeders and their Northern serfs, Independence Day was made the occasion of glorifying the Constitution and the Union, slavery being assumed to be the inspiring principle of the one, and unquestioning allegiance to it the virtue and only means of preserving the other. The ashes of the Fathers were insulted and their great names blasphemed by the orgies held on the day they had set apart for immortality and by the lies which were foisted into their dead mouths. The Abolitionists could hold no counsel and have no comsunion with such degenerate brethren. They were forced by the necessities of the case to separate themselves from them and to nplift their voices against their heresies. The burning of the Constitution at Framingham on one Fonrth of July, by Mr. Garrison, which was so generally denounced, was but a type of the irreoncible divergence of Slavery and Anti-Slavery, as men’s minds and the deeds that issued from them then were. And so of the denunciation of the Constitution as a Covenant with Death and an Agreement with Hell, it was the strongest possible otatement of the perversion of public feeling which had made Slavery the controlling and abiding spirit of the Constitution, and what did not seem then as if it could be cast out without rending and destroying the thing possessed of the devil. So of Mr. Phillips’s oft-repeated asseveration that “when he could see no Exodus for the American slave excepting over the ruins of the American Church and the American Constitution” as things looked and as men felt then, all these things were right and necessary to be said. We all felt that if slavery were an essential, integral part of the American Church and Constitution (as it then seemed to be), the downfall of the one and the other could not be avoided, for the curse of God rested npon them both. These were not merely just and proper expressions of eternal truth, they were moderate and guarded ones, for which and their influence on the public mind of the North we have good reason to rejoice.

But the pride that goeth before a fall and the madness that heralds destruction fell npon the tyrants, their eyes were blinded that they should not see, their hearts hardened that they should not feel, and their understandings darkened that they should not perceive the ruin that they were preparing for themselves in their wild dreams of universal empire and perpetual supremacy. And no wonder, for we ourselves did not believe that so much sense of self-preservation, not to call it virtue, remained undestroyed by slavery in the Northern mind. But they and we were mistaken. It was not so entirely devotion to slavery as we had thought, that had produced the infamous succession of compromises which culminated in the rebellion they had sought to divert. It was largely a feeling that the greatness and prosperity of the Nation depended on its territorial integrity, and that these could be neither secured nor peace preserved, if a division should be tolerated, that led to the humiliations of former times and to the unanimous uprising of 1861. Nothing less outrageous than the rebellion, in its insolence and villany, would probably have produced this result. But it ocnrred, and the events which have been born of it have entirely changed the relations of the Abolitionists to the government. At all times, even when they were denounced the most londly as treasonable and fanatical, they were the trust patriots in the land. They loved the Nation itself more than the Constitution which it had made for itself. They loved the life rather than the raiment, and would fain have saved the one at the cost of the other. But if both can be preserved, none will rejoice more heartily than they. It was the poison in the robe of Nessus which did the hero of mythology to death. It is the poison only which the Abolitionists would eliminate from the robe of their common mother, that she may live and not die. Athie we now see a reasonable hope. We do not hold with the Chicago Convention that slavery is dead, but we think that it is moribnnd and cannot be made long to live by the most malignant leechcraft. The Emancipation proclamation, the employment of negro troops, the repeal of the Fugitive Slave laws, the passage by large majorities in both Houses of the Abolition Amendment, not to mention many other hopeful events, prognosticate surely the end of a system so little hardy and so dependent on careful nursing as slavery. The Abolitionists, therefore, feel that their relations to the Nation are very different from what they were four years ago. Mr. Garrison feels free to urge the reelection of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, and Mr. Phillips is implelled to promote the election of Gen. Fremont to the same office, both from the same earnest love of country and the same strong conviction that thne slavery will be the soonest destroyed. It is indeed a new world in which we find ourselves.

The Abolitionists omit their Annual Celebration of the Fonrth this year, because they trust that the rest of the nation have become worthy through suffering to celebrate it worthily. They are painfully sensible of the many shortcomings, blunders and crimes through which the government and the people have stumbled on to the point where both now stand. They are fully aware of the dangers of reactionary delays which may yet retard the day of perfect freedom. They will still maintain their independent attitnde of impartial observation and fearless criticism. But they hope soon to be permitted, through the accomplishment of their work, to melt unobserved into the mass of their fellow-citizens and never again to make the Fourth of July an annual occasion of solemn protest against the crimes of the American people against that Universal Liberty of which it boasts of holding the palladium in the Declaration of Seventy-Six.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I very much regret that of the resolutions adopted by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention a garbled offered by Parker Pillsbury should have failed to appear in the Report. As one of the Secretaries, all the resolutions before the Convention were in my charge. At the close of the last session I made up a parcel of the manuscript in my possession and gave it to Mr. J. M. W. Yerrinton, of *The Liberator*, for publication. I supposed the resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury to have been inclnded (as I fully intended they should be) in this parcel of manuscript. Afterwards, on examining the Report for publication, they could not be found. Nor have they yet been recovered. Whether in the hurried period at the adjournment of the Convention, near midnight, I dropped them from my table, and thna lost them, nr they were accidentally mislaid by Mr. Yerrinton, it is impossible for me now to affirm. Very certain I am that in either case their loss was purely accidental.

Mr. C. K. Whipple, who was also one of the Secretaries, did not at any time have charge of the resolutions after they were handed in nowise responsible for their appearance. Fearing it might prove impossible to recover the original manuscript, I applied to Mr. Pillsbury for a duplicate of the resolutions for subsequent publication. This he was unable to furnish.

Sincerely regretting the omission, I am,

Very truly yours, Aaron M. Powell.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

My Dear Friend: I greatly regret to see, on the part of two such steadfast opponents of slavery as yourself and Dr. Brooke of Ohio, the hesty imputation of ill motives to fellow-laborers in the cause of freedom. When the latter says, in last week’s Standard (respecting those resolutions of Parker Pillsbury which were debated and accepted by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, but which did not appear in the record of its proceedings) that “What was published fairly conveys the impression that these have been suppressed for partisan purposes,” he mistakes; and when you retort that this declaration “indicates a state of mind far worse than ordinary partisanship,” in my judgment you equally mistake.

For my own sake—“Is it possible to believe that, in the better days of our movement, such an accident would not have been remedied, and historical truth vindicated, by their after publication?” I reply, to me it *is* possible to believe this; and further, to believe that accident, far more probably than any unfair dealing of the persons here concerned, must account for the yet unexplained disappearance of Mr. Pillsbury’s resolutions. I ought, perhaps, earlier to have made the explanation here following, which I had not expected a recovery and publication of the document in question.

Aaron M. Powell and myself were Secretaries of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention. An insufficiency of voice, which has always prevented my speaking or reading to a large audience, caused me them, as previously, to act merely as Recording Secretary, so that the resolutions, list of officers, and other documents belonging to the convention, never came into my hands at all. They were kept by my colleague, who from time to time read to the meeting such of them as were called for, and who lent them, according to custom, to the reporters for the daily press. At the close of the second day’s evening session, we both put our notes and documents into the hands of Rev. Samuel May, Jr., to be united into a continuous narrative for the press, a work which he has been accustomed to do for many years, having himself been principal Secretary when the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. We also left, after putting his papers into the printer’s hands. When, afterwards, the printer told me that Mr. Pillsbury’s resolutions were missing, it seemed probable that Mr. Powell had accidentally failed to deliver them with the other documents, and that they might be still in his possession. I wrote a telegraphic message to send to him, but on application at two offices was told that there was no telegraphic station in the place of his residence, Ghent, N. Y. Mr. Pillsbury also had left town, and the daily press had given only abstracts of the resolutions, so that it was impossible to reproduce them. I then supposed that a brief mention of the omission would cause an immediate return of the resolutions by the person who had them in possession. They did not, however, appear, and I am still unable to account for their loss.

I do not, however, jump from this uncertainty to a suspicion of unfair dealing on the part of either of the parties concerned, and I see neither reason nor probability in such suspicion. It is absurd to suppose that Mr. Powell (who not only, like myself, voted for the resolutions, but who made a vigorous and admirable speech in their behalf), purposely withheld them from the press. It is equally absurd to suppose that Mr. May, the soul of honor, and eminent for faithfulness as for accuracy, committed the perfidy of suppressing them. In such circumstances, it is far easier for me to suppose accident than fraud; I shall suppose it, in the present case, until facts compel me to judge otherwise; and I recommend the same charitable judgment to my friend Dr. Brooke.

Yours, faithfully, Charles K. Whipple.

Nowhuryport, Mass, July 3, 1864.

The Arkansas Representatives.—The Senate, as we stated last week, passed a resolve that the gentlemen lately chosen as Senators from the State of Arkansas were not entitled to seats. The Committee of the House, to which were referred the credentials of the gentlemen applying for seats as Representatives from Arkansas, reported a proposition to send a Commission to that and other States similarly situated to inquire into their condition and report whether they have succeeded in establishing such governments as to entitle them to representation in Congress. The House, however, laid the whole subject on the table—yeas 80, nays 47.

“PREJUDICE AT OBERLIN.”

Oberlin, June 28, 1864.

To the Rdit r of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Will you, in justice to the good people of Oberlin, give the enclosed article a place in the columne of your paper? Miss Jackson, as I think, makes a fair and truthful statement. Yonrs truly,

J. M. Langston.

[NOTED in *The Commonwealth* of May 27th an article in regard to Oberlin College. It may not be known to many persons that the prejndice therein spoken of exists only in some of the students, and those the lese cultivated ones.

The nnjust sentiment of prejudice ill accords with the high-toned and npright character of the Faculty and teachers of this institution.

A student here, whether he is white or black, is judged according to his character and scholarship, and not according to any extrinsic circnmstances. With the members of the Faculty, as with all persons of culture, “the mind is the measure of the man.” The colored as well as the white students are treated with uniform respect and kindness.

It is not strange that students who come here from other parts of the United States should bring their prejudice with them: nor is it strange that the moment they enter Oberlin the atmosphere of Oberlin they do not immediately divest themselves of it.

Oberlin is not the pool of Bethesda for the sin of prejudice; though it comes nearer to it than any other place In the United Statee.

The Principal of the Young Men’s Department is not only a man of liberal culture, but an earnest Christian. I do not mean by the term, Christian, one who has attained a high estate of civilization; I mean one who is *Christ like*.

The Principal, while he is strictly just to both parties, has always shown the most thoughtful kindness in regard to the colored students. He le ever ready to commend whatever he sees in them worthy of praise, and is always pleased when he has the opportunity to accord them any unusnal honor.

If we are slighted, or if we receive a sly thrust—as we occesionally do, for human nature in Oberlin is about the same as human nature in New York, until it becomes a singular course, and not unfrequently it requires a theological to purify it entirely—whenever we are thus treated, we are always sure of the sympathy of these true friends, our teachere; and their sympathy is not a milk-and-water article, such as it degrades one to receive—it is genuine, it soothes, it revives, it makes one cognizant of the fact that there is an upper as well as a lower stratum of humanity.

Prejndice in Oberlin is preached against, prayed against, sung against and lied against, and were it any other than a mean and vile sentiment it is, such treatment would rid us entirely of its presence.

Four years ago I came to Oberlin a parfect stranger. I was made at home in the family of one of the Professors and treated with the most disinterested kindness. Without a single exception, it may be said of the Faculty and teachers of Oberlin College that they possess true Christian refinement of character.

They regard a colored man as a *man*, and do not consider that they are conferring a favor npon him by so doing.

Long before the public sentiment was as favorable as it now is to the colored man, Oberlin was his stanuch friend and ally. Every sensible person must admit that a few exceptions do not invalidate a general rule. Oberlin College may still be considered as “the synonym of cordiality and good will to the black man.”

When America washes her robes of her national sin, and stands before the world with clean hands and spotless garments, then, and not till then, may we expect to find Oberlin entirely free from prejndice.

Oberlin, June 24, 1864. Fanny M. Jackson.

Rights of Colored People in Street Cars.—On the 29th ult. Police officer Tyler was arraigned before the Police Commissioners of this city npon the charge of committing an assault and breaking the police regulations in assisting a conductor to expel from one of the cers of the Eighth Avenue Railroad a colored woman named Anderson, the widow of a soldier who lately laid down his life in defending his country. The facts alleged in the complaint were clearly established by the testimony—indeed they were not denied. The conductor testified that he acted, as he supposed, in obedience to the instructions of the Superintendent, but he was unable to show any written or printed order—he *understood* the rule was that colored people should ride only in cars appropriated to their particular use. One of the directors testified that the Board had never made any such rule. The police officer, being called upon for a statement, said that he was passing at the corner of the street; the conductor of the car came up and said there was a colored woman in the car, and asked me to remove her. I went in and asked her to remove, and said the next car was for colored people; she asked who rode in that car; I said, white people; she then said, “I am as good as any white people”; the conductor then came up and said he must go on; I put my hand upon her, and she took hold of the straps; I asked the conductor if he would let me look her out. He refused. I was there except from the conductor. Mr. Whitehead, the counsel for the complainant, said his object was only to test the right of the police to interfere in these matters. They had no vindiotive feeling against the officer, who, he dare say, imagined he was doing his duty; but similar cases had been before the Court before, and were always decided in favor of the colored appellante, and they simply wanted such a punishment inflicted as the Board would deem necessary to prevent the recurrence of such scandals. He appeared there for a number of gentlemen whose feelings had often been much shocked by these *fracases* in the street cers, sometimes at the very moment the colored regiments were marching down the streets on their way to the war. Police Commissioner Acton said he was very sorry such a good officer as the defendant had got himself into such a scrape. It was his duty to preserve the peace, and there was no disturbed peace until the officer made it. It was rather his duty to have arrested the conductor than the woman, if he was breaking the peace. He didn’t care what he supposed; he ought to exhibit some common sense in these matters. There was no law against these people riding in the cars, and they had no right to make such a law, nor was there any order requiring policemen to do the dirty work of these coudnotors.

The final disposal of the case was then left for the full Board to pass such sentence as they may deem necessary.

The following order of the Superintendent of the Eighth Avenue Railroad was issued on Tuesday evening. This leaves the Sixth avenue the only railroad in the city on which the discrimination between white and black passengers is observed:

Office of the Eighth Avenue R. R., June 28, 1864.

Hereafter, colored people are allowed to ride in all cars (both Horse and Dummy) in this Company.

C. A. Mat, Supt. Eighth Avenue Railroad Co.

The *Principia* publishes the resolutions adopted at the Fremont Ratification meeting in this city, at the same time carefully concealing from its readers the speeches made on the occasion, and the incidents which revealed the spirit and character of the meeting and the purposes of the men who engineered it! Is this honest or manly? Is *The Principia* afraid or ashamed to let its readers know what was said in that meeting? Are the chosen expounders of the Cleveland platform, Brownson, Claiborne and Cochrane? And why does it so carefnlly suppress the fact that the name of its senior Editor figured among the officers of a meeting in which the “Radical Democratic” candidate for Vice-President declared that Michelan and Fremont were “twin cherries on one stem”? Are the cherries too sonr for *The Principia*’s digestion? Why, then, does it not manfully say so, and throw them away? Why this pallering, and mean, half-way course in regard to the Cleveland movement? Why is not the name of John Cochrane put at the head of the column under that of Fremont? Does *The Principia* intend to support only half the ticket? Is “the only righteous political party in the land”—the party which was to eschew expediency and thereby draw all honest men into its ranks—to have only a cold, shuddering, shamefaced support from our neighbor?

The Freedman’s Bureau bill, in consequence of various disagreements between the Senate and House, was not passed. We regret this, believing that such a Bureau is almost indispensable to the proper care of the interests of the Freedmen.

MRS. GAGE IN NATCHEZ.

Natchez, Miss., June 12, 1864.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Am I dreaming, or is it a plain, sober reality that I sit in a chamber of the old “Jefferson Hotel,” of secesh notoriety, in the beautiful, wealthy, aristocratic, crimecursed city of Natchez, with the rustle of the china trees in my cars, and the balmy airs catching fragrance, as they sweep over hill and dale, from rich magnolia blooms, and delicate odore of the wild rose and cape jessamine regaling my senses? Again and again I ask myself the question, and somehow I can answer “No, come, “Reality—yes, sober reality”; and I have only to look down beneath my portfolio and the table that supports it for a confirmation of this answer, which is given in such a tangible way as to remove all doubt.

Here I sit writing on a table—of marble, taken from some ancient family, carned by the sweat and toil of slaves?—was that the question my subtle ears heard not according to any extrinsic circnmstances. With the members of the Faculty, as with all persons of culture, “the mind is the measure of the man.” The colored as well as the white students are treated with uniform respect and kindness.

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Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, July 5, 1864.

The change in the Cabinet is of course the only topic of conversation here. For the time being, interest in the price of gold are forgotten, and people talk only of the resignation of Mr. Chase, and his successor.

Among fair-minded men it seems to me there is no difference of opinion respecting the quarrel between the President and his Secretary which led to the rupture. Mr. Chase may or may not have been right in tendering his resignation, but he certainly ought not to be permitted to select his most important subordinate in that department. The office of Secretary of the Treasury is one of the most important within the gift of the President, requiring a man of eminent financial qualifications and of unimpeachable integrity. The President, as I understand it, was desirous of retaining Senator Morgan by appointing a New York republican politician. Mr. Chase insisted upon his right to fill the piece with an honest business man, who would recede an inch. Mr. Chase lost the appointment (of Mr. B. P. Field, one of the Assistant Treasurers here), but Mr. Lincoln would not accept his resignation, not knowing whether it would be accepted or not. The President, during the absence of Mr. Blair, concluded to accept the resignation and put an end to the fend which has so long been existing in the Cabinet. So the Blairs here triumph, and when they least expected it. Mr. Chase is out of the Cabinet, and Montgomery Blair is in. It will be remembered by some of my readers that I predicted, some time ago, that Mr. Chase would not remain in the Cabinet certain of a renomination next March was to be made. There are rumors now that Mr. Blair will soon go out, but I cannot credit them.

Mr. Lincoln’s quiet courage is wonderful. The Convention gave him a significant hint in reference to Mexico, and in his letter of acceptance he expressly shall stand by Mr. Seward’s policy to put the French out, so that he will make a European trip during the Summer and Autumn. We can have no expectation of any public life for the present, unless the President in his generous enough to send him to the French Court as Ambassador. This would be fitting, but Mr. Day is in the way, and it is doubtful whether the President is in the humor for any such gift. For months past there has been a feeling between him and Mr. Chase has been anything but pleasant. Those who know Mr. Chase intimately are aware that his manners are not always the softest, that he is unyielding, or, as some people would say, obstinate. Mr. Lincoln has a peculiar style of a man altogether quite as obstinate in his way. It is out surprising that two such men have been forced to quarrel. It is to me at least. It is surprising that Mr. Chase has remained after the President in a manner insulted Frank Blair’s attacks npon him. Now we shall see what we shall see.

Congress has finished its work, and the President left to manage the public affairs without interference. A more cordial feeling has existed this session than ever before between Congress than that which existed last Winter, but a large majority of the Republican members are still opposed to a portion of the President. The great quarrel is over Montgomery Blair. Congress hes literally kicked Gen. Blair from the room of the House. The House voted him out of his seat, and passed a resolution declaring that he never should have a right to take his seat, because he was a Major-General in the army. The Senate followed suit with a resolution having reference to the same subject. The unanimous grew out of the anti-Blair feeling to a great extent, and the President certainly is not so blind as not to perceive that a large portion of his supporters are offended at his apparent friendship for the Blairs.

I hardly know a Republican in the House who is a friend to Gen. Blair, and Postmaster-General Blair has few friends either in the House or Senate. It is amusing that the President does not comprehend the matter, but he sticks very closely to a friend. If a man succeeds in attaching Mr. Lincoln to him or his cause, he may be sure that no ordinary event will turn him from a friend. Mr. Lincoln is honest. Mr. Lincoln never were warm friends. Neither Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward, but Mr. Seward is a politician, a diplomatist, which Mr. Chase is not. But Mr. Lincoln have been warmly attached friends with Lincoln and Stanton. Mr. Welles, I believe never attached to anybody, though his course has been upright. Like

THE *Principia* closes a pitiably weak chapter of special pleading in regard to what it calls "Misrepresentations and Mistakes respecting the Cleveland Convention" with a paragraph in which it affects to repel any charge that that Convention, in declaring that the Constitution and laws of the United States must be observed and obeyed," pledged itself to the support of the Fugitive Slave law. That the resolution, according to its terms, pledged the Convention to the support of *all* the laws of the United States, and that the Fugitive Slave law was, at the time, one of those laws, is not and cannot be denied; but the editor, in the first place, asserts that the *intentions* of the framers of a public document have anything to do in settling the meaning thereof, now pleads the intentions of those who made the Cleveland platform as a legitimate warrant for denying that they meant what they said! "There is no reason," we are told, "to suppose that a single member of the Convention *intended* any declaration of the character imputed to it, or dreamed that any such construction would or could be put upon it." Mr. Goodell and his immediate friends had no intention to commit themselves to the support of the Fugitive Slave law is to be presumed, of course; but that that conniving wire-puller, John Cochrane, and his Democratic associates in the management of the Convention, were free from such an intention, is by no means so clear. The resolution is a flat plagiarism from the "Bell-Everett" party of 1860, but nine months it meant only the Fugitive Slave law; and we do not see why it was adopted at Cleveland at all, unless it was intended as an affirmation of something disputed. The Fugitive Slave law is the only law of the United States whose binding force is disputed at the North, and if the resolution was not meant to rebuke the violators of that law, and thereby to improve the chances of Gen. Fremont at Chicago, why was it passed? In view of the peculiar composition of the Cleveland Convention, made up as it was in part of Radical Abolitionists and in part of Democrats of the Cochrane stamp, per by view also of its big professions, we deem it incumbent on us to look very closely into its proceedings, and to hold it responsible for its words *according to their natural import*. If Mr. Goodell and others were caught napping by their Democratic allies, it is their fault, not ours.

NATIONAL HUMILIATION AND PRAYER.—The following resolution (introduced in the Senate by Mr. Harlan of Iowa) was adopted by the two Houses of Congress:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to appoint a day for humiliation and prayer by the people of the United States; that he request his constitutional advisers at the head of the Executive Departments to unite with him in such day of humiliation, at the Capital of the nation, at the City of Washington, and the Members of Congress, and all magistrates, all civil, military, and naval officers, all soldiers, sailors, and marines, with all loyal and law-abiding people, to come at their usual places of worship, or wherever they may be, to confess and to repent of their manifold sins, to implore divine compassion and forgiveness for the Almighty, that if consistent with His will the existing rebellion may be speedily suppressed, and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States may be established throughout all the States; to implore Him, as the Supreme Ruler, not to destroy us as a people, or visit us with the horrors of servile war, by reason or connivance of other nations, or by obstinate adhesion to our own counsels, which may be in conflict with His eternal purposes; and to implore Him to enlighten the mind of the nation, that it may know and fear Him, and humbly believing that it is in accordance with His will that our place should be maintained as a united people among the powers of the earth, that He will graciously vouchsafe to our armed defenders and the masses of the people that courage, power of resistance, and endurance necessary to the work in hand; to implore Him, in his infinite goodness, to soften the hearts, enlighten the minds, and quicken the consciences of those in rebellion, that they may lay down their arms and speedily return to the allegiance of the United States, that they may not be utterly destroyed, that the effusion of blood may be stayed, and that unity and fraternity may be restored, and peace established throughout all our borders.

The President, we presume, will promptly respond to this request.

THE DEMOCRATIC "ROLLER."—In the hurry of writing last week we omitted a point, too good to be lost, in the speech of Mr. Claiborne of Missouri on the Preemption ratification meeting. He told his auditors, it will be remembered, that he was a Democrat and a delegate to the Chicago Convention. He said he had made a rapid journey from Missouri, losing his sleep for several nights, in order to attend this meeting, and *to feel the pulse of the Democratic masses in New York.* "I know," said he, "that I have the Democracy here before me; I have attended many meetings all my life, and *I know a Democratic 'roller'* when I see him. You can't cheat me." This remark was followed by cheers and yells worthy of old Tammany herself! Mr. Claiborne was right; the meeting *was* composed chiefly of Democrats, and its *spirit* was Democratic, using that word in its worst sense. The Abolitionists present were few, and they were there, not as participants, but as mortified and indignant spectators.

FIFTY-FIFTH MASSACHUSETTS.—This regiment, in all probability, will see no active service for the remainder of the season, stationed, as it is, in its old position on Folly Island. The want of reading matter is already sensibly felt, and those who have any to spare would be conferring a philanthropic favor by directing it to this quarter. All school-books will be in order, and, not less, magazines, periodicals of various sorts, and a wide range of literature in general. There are many minds to be fed, and the more diverse the contributions the greater the likelihood of their receiving some satisfaction. These may be sent to the address of R. F. HALLOWELL, at 98 Federal st., Boston; 35 Broadway, New York; or 912 Walnut st., Philadelphia.

GEN. GRANT AND THE PRESIDENCY.—In commenting upon the possibility of Gen. Grant, in a certain contingency, accepting a nomination for the Presidency, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* says:

"We know perfectly reliable sources that Gen. Grant has peremptorily refused, in advance, any offer of the Presidency. He replied to those who were seeking to learn his views on the subject, that while the war lasted he fully comprehended his duty to remain strictly from his present position, and that even should the war come to a speedy conclusion he would be the most unpopular man in the country to be a candidate. This declaration comes to us through the most trustworthy sources, and affords us conclusive proof that Gen. Grant has fully decided not to enter the political arena. And those who look to him as the chief of the law, to step to waver when he has made up his mind one way or the other."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AT ITS THIRD DECADE [thirty years from its formation], held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 31 and 4th, 1863, with an appendix, and a Catalogue of Anti-Slavery Publications in America, from 1750 to 1863. An octavo pamphlet, of 175 pages. Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery office, 48 Beekman at., New York; 106 North Tenth st., Philadelphia; and 221 Washington st., Boston. Price, *Fifty Cents*. On receipt of this sum, a copy will be sent, postage prepaid, to any given address.

GEORGE THOMPSON.—Our readers will be glad to learn that Mr. Thompson's health has improved somewhat of late. On Wednesday evening of this week he was to deliver a lecture for the benefit of the families of colored soldiers, in the Rev. Mr. Grimes's Church in Boston. On the 13th inst. he will deliver an address at Commencement, at Amherst College. On the 18th he will speak at Northampton, and on the 17th at Florence. On the 19th he will deliver an address at the Commencement of the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Ct. This will end his public engagements for the present. He will afterwards, probably, either go to the White Mountains, or pay a quiet visit to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

TESTIMONY OF COLORED PERSONS IN U. S. COURTS.—The House concurred (yeas 67, nays 54) in the Senate's amendment to the Civil appropriation bill, providing that there shall be no exclusion of witnesses on account of color in the U. S. Courts, and in no other law. Thus, step by step, is the nation advancing in practice toward a full recognition of the doctrine of human equality.

THE PRESIDENT has signed the bills abolishing the Fugitive Slave laws and the law regulating the Coasting Slave trade, and admitting colored people to be witnesses in U. S. Courts. Indeed he is said to have signed every bill passed by Congress, except that providing republican governments for States overthrown or usurped by rebellion.

THE PENSION ACT has been so amended as to extend its benefits to the wives and children of colored soldiers, without further proof of marriage than the fact that the parties have lived together for two years.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

MARTIAL LAW IN KENTUCKY.

The President has been compelled to lay a strong hand on the sympathizers with rebellion in Kentucky. He has put the State under martial law. We publish the more important portion in the proclamation:

Whereas, many citizens of the State of Kentucky have joined the forces of the insurgents, have on several occasions entered the State in large force, in a large force, and not without aid and comfort furnished by disaffected and disloyal citizens of the United States residing there, have not only greatly disturbed the public peace, but have overborne the civil authorities and made flagrant civil war, destroying property and life in various parts of that State, and

Whereas, the said State made known to the President of the United States, by the officers commanding the national armies, that combinations have been formed in the said State for the purpose of aiding and assisting the rebel forces to renew the said civil war within the said State, and thereby to embarrass the United States in its efforts to suppress the said rebellion, and to overthrow the said armies now operating in the said States of Virginia and Georgia, and even to endanger their safety.

Now therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and laws, do hereby declare that, in my judgment, the public safety especially requires that the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, so proclaimed in the proclamation of the 15th of September, 1863, be made effectual, and be duly enforced in and throughout the said State of Kentucky, and that martial law, in addition thereto, is declared therein. I do, therefore, hereby require of the military officers in the said State that the privilege of the said writ shall not be effectually suspended within the said State, according to the aforesaid proclamation, and that martial law be established therein, to take effect from the date of this proclamation, the said suspension and establishment of martial law to continue until this proclamation shall be revoked or modified, but not beyond the period when the said rebellion shall have been suppressed, and the said writ restored. And hereby require and command as well as military officers all civil officers and authorities existing or found within the said State to take notice of and give effect to this proclamation and to give full effect to the same. The martial laws herein proclaimed, and the things in that respect herein ordered will not be deemed or taken to interfere with the holding of any lawful election or the proceedings of the Constitutional Legislature of Kentucky, or with the administration of justice in the courts of law existing under the Constitution and laws of United States in suits or proceedings which do not affect the military operations or the constituted authorities of the government of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington, this 5th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight of the Independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

By the President: ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

SINKING OF THE PIRATE SHIP ALABAMA.

The rebel pirate ship, Alabama, which had burned upwards of sixty American merchant vessels with their cargoes, has gone at last to the bottom of the sea! She went down, not long since, at Cherbourg, on the North-ern coast of France, in the English Channel, not far from there for repairs. Owing to the remonstrances of Mr. Dayton, American Minister at Paris, she was, after much delay, permitted to go into dock. She was, meanwhile, had telegraphed to Capt. Winslow, of the Kearsarge, then lying in one of the ports of Holland, to prepare to meet her and catch the pirate if possible. Capt. Winslow obeyed the summons, and arrived in Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* says:

"Semmes, after the thing had gone through the 'circumlocution office' for the space of two months, found time Feefot to leave as soon as he had provisioned and coaled, and not to wait for repairs, as he had expected to do. He was in a great hurry to get to Semmes, Mr. Dayton sent him, Mr. William Dayton, Jr., to warn the authorities to Captain Winslow to make preparations for a fight, for that Semmes had been ordered out and would be obliged to fight.

"Capt. Semmes, finding that he had no alternative, determined to put the best face on the matter, and to make as much capital as possible out of necessity. He therefore wrote a letter to the Maritime Prefect, requesting him to inform Capt. Winslow that he considered the latter's conduct in pretending to lie off the blockade him in a neutral port (which he knew as well as he intended to come out and drive him off). Winslow replied, 'Let him come out and try it.' Both parties made their preparations, and the news flew all over the business it was to run and not to fight, was so badgered and worried by the taunts of our side, by the pats on the back of the rebel and his sympathizers, and by the restrictions of the French authorities, that a way the Ala-mau than he would have been driven by desperation to fight; and Capt. Winslow, who properly estimated all these circumstances, knew perfectly well that a fight was going to fight. Semmes left all his valuables in the hands of the Brazilian Consular agent on shore, and after dining his friends to come out and see the fight, went to sea."

The fight took place on Sunday, June 19. William Dayton, Jr., son of the American Minister, and Acton, the well-known messenger of the American Legation, were on the Kearsarge and witnessed the conflict. Says the correspondent of *The Times*:

"At exactly 10 o'clock the Alabama began the action lasted about an hour and a half. The Kearsage, although hit in several places, received no vital shot. The Kearsage then headed off and kept between the rebel and the land, and so prevented her escape. The Alabama, finding herself completely hemmed in, and seeing that escape was impossible, struck her colors and hoisted a flag of truce. Captain Winslow ordered the firing to cease as soon as he had provisioned and coaled, and not to wait for repairs, as he had expected to do. He therefore wrote a letter to Semmes, requesting him to inform Capt. Winslow that he considered the latter's conduct in pretending to lie off the blockade him in a neutral port (which he knew as well as he intended to come out and drive him off). Winslow replied, 'Let him come out and try it.' Both parties made their preparations, and the news flew all over the business it was to run and not to fight, was so badgered and worried by the taunts of our side, by the pats on the back of the rebel and his sympathizers, and by the restrictions of the French authorities, that a way the Alamau than he would have been driven by desperation to fight; and Capt. Winslow, who properly estimated all these circumstances, knew perfectly well that a fight was going to fight. Semmes left all his valuables in the hands of the Brazilian Consular agent on shore, and after dining his friends to come out and see the fight, went to sea."

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"Mr. B. W. Wooster made the statement to Maj. J. B. Cook, of the United States Army, (colored), that he (B. W. Wooster) considered that the rebel Gen. Forrest was perfectly justified in massacreing the brave colored garrison at Fort Pillow, because he was beyond all question a pirate. He (B. W. Wooster) made the statements to colored soldiers of 3d United States Cavalry (colored), that the rebels were right in killing them when captured, although at Fort Pillow they massacred a large number of men belonging to the regiment at Rosche's plantation, Mississippi.

"Mr. B. W. Wooster drew his knife on a colored collier, Amos Hurd, Company K, 3d United States Cavalry (colored), while said soldier was on guard duty, and threatened to cut his throat.

"The said B. W. Wooster was, at the time, engaged in purchasing cotton and other speculations, under the protection of a brigade of colored soldiers, while in an open boat on the Mississippi river, on a expedition to Yazoo City, Mississippi.

"He was arrested by order of Col. E. D. Osband, commanding 1st United States Cavalry (colored), that he (B. W. Wooster) considered that the rebel Gen. Forrest was perfectly justified in massacreing the brave colored garrison at Fort Pillow, because he was beyond all question a pirate. He (B. W. Wooster) made the statements to colored soldiers of 3d United States Cavalry (colored), that the rebels were right in killing them when captured, although at Fort Pillow they massacred a large number of men belonging to the regiment at Rosche's plantation, Mississippi.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE RETURN OF THE BIRDS.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

I hear, from many a little throat,
A warble low and clear;
I hear the robin's flute-like note,
The blue bird's slenderer song.

Brown meadows and the russet hill,
Not yet the bloom of grazing herds,
And thickets by the glistening rill
Are all alive with birds.

O Choir of Spring, why come so soon?
Do leafless grove and heathy lawn
Warm for the love-dreams of noon;
Yet winter is not gone.

For frost shall sheet the pools again;
Again the blustering East shall howl;
While a white tempest through the glen,
And load the pines with snow.

Yet, haply, from the region where,
Waked by an earlier spring than here,
The blossomed wild-plum scents the air,
Ye come in haste and fear.

For there is heard the bugle-blast,
The booming gun, the jarring drum,
And on their sharpers, spent and fast,
Armed warriors go and come.

There mighty hosts have pitched the camp
In valleys that were yours of late,
And Earth has shuddered to the tramp
Of half a million men.

In groves where once ye used to sing,
In orchards where ye built your birth,
A incessant glittering axes swing
To smite the trees to earth.

Ye love the fields by ploughman trod:
But there, when spring is in the beechen spray,
The soldier only breaks the sod
To hide the slain away.

Stay, then, beneath our roder sky;
Heed not the storm-cloud's angry black,
Nor pelting winds that with them fly;
Nor let them right you back—

Back to the stifling battle-cloud
To harming corse and wound the day,
And trains of mourning dust that shrond
The armies on their way.

Stay, for a tint of green shall crop
Soon o'er the orchard's gnarled bow,
And from its bed the crocus peep
Beside the icy snow.

Here build, and dread no harsher sound,
To scare you from the sheltering tree,
Than winds that stir the branches round,
And murmur of the bee.

And we will pray, that ere again
The flowers of autumn bloom and die,
Our generals and their strong armed men
May lay their weapons by.

Then may ye warble, unafraid,
Where hands, that wear the letter now,
Free ye your wings and dig the spade,
And guide the peaceful plough.

Then, as our conquering hosts return,
What shouts of jubilee shall break
From placid vale and mountain stern
And shore of mighty lake!

And midland plain and ocean strand
Shall thunder: "Glory to the brave,
Peace to the torn and bleeding land,
And freedom to the slave!"

March, 1864. —*Atlantic Monthly for July.*

GOING A VISITING IN EGYPT.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

DONGOLA, Ill., March 5, 1864.

THIS is a relation by Mr. Billings. He is the man who moved from Western New York to Wisconsin, and started a nursery—did well—the weather killed him as fast as he could raise them; seven years ago much discouraged, and with some property, he came to Southern Illinois, and by skill and industry he has become well off. My acquaintance in Egypt began. He has set the Copperhead press here in a rage, and they threaten me with tar and feathers, and other things. The case is, when I show that pro-slavery and ignorance go together, and that the friends of freedom have been meddled and baffled by the friends of compromise and denying everything, say I ought to be "rode on a rail." I had thonght these arguments were going out of date, but since they are not, and, since as many as twenty Union men in this county have enlisted, within twenty miles of me, in less than a year, it would seem wise in me no longer to attempt to show how slavery degrades white folks; but Mr. Billings may speak, for he is another person. I am pretty confident the truth of what he says, I will hand them his address, and he will give them satisfaction, for he carries two cracking little revolvers in each breast pocket, and a heavy one honked to his belt.

Speaking of pistols reminds me that a friend of mine hunting horses in Cachesfats, twenty miles distant, heard a farmer give a description of me, which is as follows: I am a huge Irishman, six feet and a half tall, with a big head, a beard; I look savage and fearful voice, and a row of revolvers around my body. It is difficult for anybody to get sight of me except in the edge of the evening. One of the rooms of my house is filled with sacks of coffee, muskets and gold watches. "Soon after he came hither," said Mr. Billings, "and had got our house in order, a neighbor of mine, named ——, stopped with his team at the gate, just before sundown, and as a storm was coming on. His wife was with him, and they were going down to trade. Although his house is only a mile distant through the woods, by the road it is three miles, and I asked them to stay all night. I had seen him a few times before, and as he was one of the most influential and wealthy men in the county, I thought it a good chance to form his acquaintance. To tell the truth, I had an idea that if I took the right course I might be elected to some office, such as Justice of the Peace, and afterwards, perhaps, a member of the Legislature. You smile at this, and so do I, for we know now none of us could have been elected to any office whatever.

"During the evening it began to rain, and we had some thing very different from a spirit. When she brought the vinegar she said, 'the apple-skins and cores we made it on, was most too old, and it aint very sharp.' I couldn't forget her.

"During the evening they certainly would get wet they concluded to stay. The boys put out the horses and they came into the house. My wife had been washing and ironing, and was tired, but learning from the children who acted as express messengers, that they were going to stay, she slipped on a clean dress, her best dress, barely in time, and politely received them. We had just eaten a picked-up supper and left clean plates, but she was determined to get them a good one, although she had to start from the foundation to get one. She had an inclination, and she went to work by tacking up her dress. In a few minutes a couple of chickens were hopping over the wood-yard with their heads chopped off; the spider, half full of buttermilk and fat, was simmering over the stove—she had procured buttermilk and sweet cake; our oldest girl coughed as she roasted coffee; another washed potatoes; another searched the hen's nest for eggs, and I was ordered to get our last ham out of the cellar. The ham was delicious. She had bought some cap honey, and she put a large piece on the table; our two cows had recently come in, and she had such good butter; in short, when our friends were called, it seemed to me that she had prepared a nice supper. When they began to eat, I noticed she showed a little vanity by telling one of the girls to take away the iron spoons and bring the silver ones, which made Mr. —— and his wife stare, for such ware is never used by these people, and is considered too fine for.

"'Bud,' said she, 'take this tea-cup and go out to the smoke-house and git Mr. Billings some vinegar out of the jug.'

"'Ye, Mark,' said he.

"'Well, there wont nothin' hurt ye.'

"'Yes thar will; I know thar will.'

"'Bobby, ye go, that's a nice boy—go right away.'

"'Bobby put down his book and began to cry.

"'I dassent; it'n ketch me—I se it.'

"'Well, Jim, ye're a big hoy, ye ain't afeard, ye go.'

"'I won't.'

"'What are they afraid of?' said I.

"'Would ye think it, they're afeard of spooks—what some folks calls sperrits. I'll go, I aint afeard; see, man's agoin.'"

Of course I said nothing, but I thought if the case had been mine the boys would have seen something very different from a spirit. When she brought the vinegar she said, 'the apple-skins and cores we made it on, was most too old, and it aint very sharp.'

"After supper, while I was talking with Mr.——, his wife and mine had some misunderstanding, for asking what kind of a bird I was going to put in a cage, which I did not understand it, and it was explained to her, when she excused herself by saying, she had been taught to call it "crop."

"'May be I don't allers speak proper. I haint had no larnin' to speak of, only to read, and we haint nothin' to start with; and I don't know as larnin's o' much use, for we've got 320 acres of land, and ten hosses, and five mules, and two yoke o' oxens, and oxens, and seventy hogs—and there's more'n forty head of cattle, many chickens there's no counten' 'em; and more'n all, we've got $2,000, and risin,' as fetches us ten per cent, and it 'pears like we get along right smart, if we don't speak all our words jist so.

"We had a nice high bed to sleep in, there being as many as 50 pounds of feathers in it, but after a while I waked up with a sneeze. The fire had gone down, and I felt the wind blowing on my head. I reached over to the chair where my clothes hung, and found my pantaloons were not there, and also had where the clay had dropped out. I say nothing of the regular inhabitants of the bed, because they are so common, though I was awfully hitten.

"When we had retired before the meeting, I sat by the fire and read all the books and papers in the house. These were the First and Second Readers, and we started for the church on Big Lick Fork. The house was so full that only the women could get seats, while the men stood around the walls. I also had fearful that my knife was in good cutting order. They seemed to have a good time inside, for there were shoutings and groanings, and by turns an uproar.

"Her face was red, her sunbonnet was almost the first one out. Her face was red, her sunbonnet was sharp and short; and though she looked on me tenderly, I saw there was trouble. The boys drove home in a short time, and after she had taken off her things, she told me what was the matter. She had been excommuned from Mrs. ——, and not till meeting was out did she come near her; then, being blocked in the crowd, had such good better; in short, when our friends were called, it seemed to me that she had prepared a nice supper. When they began to eat she showed a little vanity by telling one of the girls to take away the iron spoons and bring the silver ones, which made Mr. —— and his wife stare, for such ware is never used by these people, and is considered too fine for.

"After supper I went into the kitchen to get the swill pail to feed the hogs, which I had forgotten, when I saw the children flitting around the table, and heard them say there was scarcely anything left except that tinty bit of bread, and that the meat, which bed wife sat up and baked some custard pies, which she fancied were first rate, as they were. For breakfast there were more ham, eggs, chicken, honey, and all this. As they were about to start Mrs. —— insisted as she had done the previous evening, and as soon as she got up, that we should come and visit them.

"'Yes, and bring all the young 'uns and yer old man, and stay a week. We'll be powerful glad to see ye. Come, now, do. Say, now ye will; do, now! Say nex Saturday week. Stay over Sunday, if ye won't stay no longer, and go to meeting on Big Lick Fork. Elder Miller's agoin to preach; he's the powerfullest preacher in all these parts. We think they ain't nobody like he is. Come, now, do.'

"'Wife, didn't know but we would, and getting a faint nod from me, said if we wouldn't make too much trouble we would come.

"'Lord, don't speak o' no trouble; we've got two big smart gals, and heaps o' victuals, more'n we can eat; and beds, and milk, and sweet taters. Come, now.'

"It was settled that we should go, and due preparation was made. The baby, about two years old, had to be taken—it would be too lonesome if left one—and everything was got ready in time. I told the boys to bring the hogs around, so that we could ride home. I had a pair of three-hundred, four-year-old gray horses, and they could come after us as well as not. It was a pleasant walk through the woods, along a high ridge, with deep gulfs and sink-holes and caves on either side, and, when our path was in land which led to the house. I had carried the baby most of the way, and being tired, had set it down, and it still walked between us, holding each one of us by our hands, bars leading to the house, when four big dogs came up as if they would eat us to pieces. Wife jumped on the bars, holding to the post, while I seized the baby, and had just got a good club, when Mrs. —— came out and said:

"'Will ye! now, will ye, look at him! Och! look at him! they won't hurt ye—will ye—will ye—I *say* will ye! I'm powerful glad to see ye; come in—we've been a-lookin' for ye all day.'

"At first, the room was dark, for the only window was of two panes by the side of the chimney; but the door being open, and the fire soon blazing a little, we could see that, as many as eighty, dressed deer hung around the wall; there were two beds in the room: the dishes were in a cupboard made of a shallow dry-goods box; by the side of it was a dish-towel with red and yellow stripes each end, which was spread out and fastened to the logs with pins, and above it was a wooden hook on which were four sharp and slender dipped candles. A bake kettle, covered with coals, stood in the corner of the fire-place.

"After a little, the children began to come around; there were two or twenty—at first, they had been shy, and when we looked at them, they dodged their heads out of the door-way, and when we looked at them, they dodged back; however, kept on spinning cotton, and blushing, but would not speak a word when spoken to, when their mother would say: 'Look at him: look at him.' At last, the attractions of the baby began to get the best of them in; but, before they were so greatly interested as to touch it, they had to wash their hands, thourh their faces remained smutty enough, and then, with some hazel-nuts, they got into her good graces, and in due time they ordered their tongues and carried her out ole time they quietly took her up and carried her out doors.

"'Don't ye hurt that ar young un, now,' said their mother, 'kase, if ye do, I'll be the death on ye.'

"'No, maam, we never hurt none.'

"All at once, there was a great cry, then a long silence, when it broke out again, and wife went and brought in her baby, crying and sobbing. It seemed that a finger had got hurt a little—perhaps a good deal. Mrs. —— went out, and we heard her address the children in these words:

"'L—d Almighty, didn't I tell ye not to hurt that ar young un. I've a good mind to cut yer guts out, yer ought to be skinned alive and have bechen spray, the soldier only breaks the sod
To hide the slain away.

Stay, then, beneath our roder sky;
Heed not the storm-cloud's angry black,
Nor pelting winds that with them fly;
Nor let them right you back—

Back to the stifling battle-cloud
To harming corse and wound the day,
And trains of mourning dust that shrond
The armies on their way.

Stay, for a tint of green shall crop
Soon o'er the orchard's gnarled bow,
And from its bed the crocus peep
Beside the icy snow.

Here build, and dread no harsher sound,
To scare you from the sheltering tree,
Than winds that stir the branches round,
And murmur of the bee.

And we will pray, that ere again
The flowers of autumn bloom and die,
Our generals and their strong-armed men
May lay their weapons by.

Then may ye warble, unafraid,
Where hands, that wear the letter now,
Free ye your wings and dig the spade,
And guide the peaceful plough.

Then, as our conquering hosts return,
What shouts of jubilee shall break
From placid vale and mountain stern
And shore of mighty lake!

And midland plain and ocean strand
Shall thunder: "Glory to the brave,
Peace to the torn and bleeding land,
And freedom to the slave!"

March, 1864. —*Atlantic Monthly for July.*

GOING A VISITING IN EGYPT.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

DONGOLA, Ill., March 5, 1864.

THIS is a relation by Mr. Billings. He is the man who moved from Western New York to Wisconsin, and started a nursery—did well—the weather killed him as fast as he could raise them; seven years ago much discouraged, and with some property, he came to Southern Illinois, and by skill and industry he has become well off. My acquaintance in Egypt began. He has set the Copperhead press here in a rage, and they threaten me with tar and feathers, and other things. The case is, when I show that pro-slavery and ignorance go together, and that the friends of freedom have been meddled and baffled by the friends of compromise and denying everything, say I ought to be "rode on a rail." I had thonght these arguments were going out of date, but since they are not, and, since as many as twenty Union men in this county have enlisted, within twenty miles of me, in less than a year, it would seem wise in me no longer to attempt to show how slavery degrades white folks; but Mr. Billings may speak, for he is another person. I am pretty confident the truth of what he says, I will hand them his address, and he will give them satisfaction, for he carries two cracking little revolvers in each breast pocket, and a heavy one honked to his belt.

Speaking of pistols reminds me that a friend of mine hunting horses in Cachesfats, twenty miles distant, heard a farmer give a description of me, which is as follows: I am a huge Irishman, six feet and a half tall, with a big head, a beard; I look savage and fearful voice, and a row of revolvers around my body. It is difficult for anybody to get sight of me except in the edge of the evening. One of the rooms of my house is filled with sacks of coffee, muskets and gold watches. "Soon after he came hither," said Mr. Billings, "and had got our house in order, a neighbor of mine, named ——, stopped with his team at the gate, just before sundown, and as a storm was coming on. His wife was with him, and they were going down to trade. Although his house is only a mile distant through the woods, by the road it is three miles, and I asked them to stay all night. I had seen him a few times before, and as he was one of the most influential and wealthy men in the county, I thought it a good chance to form his acquaintance. To tell the truth, I had an idea that if I took the right course I might be elected to some office, such as Justice of the Peace, and afterwards, perhaps, a member of the Legislature. You smile at this, and so do I, for we know now none of us could have been elected to any office whatever.

"During the evening it began to rain, and we had some thing very different from a spirit. When she brought the vinegar she said, 'the apple-skins and cores we made it on, was most too old, and it aint very sharp.' I couldn't forget her.